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ABSTRACT

Job title information from seven television stations is used in this paper to demonstrate that minorities and women continue to be underemployed in broadcasting industry positions that have power or policymaking authority. It is pointed out that although minorities and women constitute 42 percent of all reporters and anchors on the local news shows of these stations, they have made virtually no gains in administrative or managerial jobs since 1975. It is also pointed out that the specific job titles held by minorities and women show not only that they hold relatively few managerial positions at local stations, but also that they rarely hold executive or policymaking jobs. It is concluded that the Federal Communication Commission's (FCC's) equal employment opportunity effort must be enhanced. (Author/EB)

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"WINDOW DRESSING REVISITED"

Remarks

By

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SEVENTH ANNUAL TELECOMMUNICATION
POLICY RESEARCH CONFERENCE

Sky Top Lodge, Pennsylvania

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On March 28, 1979, the FCC released another in its annual series of press releases on the status of minorities and women in broadcasting. The release announced that 52 percent of all full-time female employees are now in the top four categories reported on FCC Form 395. It also noted that 65.4 percent of all minorities (male and female) are in the top four categories. The report did not mention, however, that 81 percent of all jobs in the broadcasting industry are now in the top four categories; that 15.6 percent of the remaining 19 percent (the lower five categories)[1] are office and clerical positions; and that women constitute 90.3 percent of the industry's office and clerical employees.

The press release also noted that the percentages of women and minorities in the top four categories had been steadily increasing over the years, but it did not mention that the percentage of all jobs in the upper four categories has also been steadily increasing over the years. In 1971, 68.5 percent of all jobs were in the top four; in 1975, this percentage had increased to 77.2, and in 1978, it had climbed to 81 percent.

The press release went on to report that women hold 21.6 percent of all official and manager positions and that minorities (both men and women) had 7.8 percent of them. Apparently, all these figures are meant to suggest that minorities and women hold a pretty fair share of the top jobs in the broadcasting industry. But do they really?

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has recently released two reports[2] that address this issue. In both, we found that, except in rare instances, minorities and women are <u>not</u> employed in policymaking or executive positions at local television stations, even though stations often classify them as officials and managers. We recommended

that the FCC institute a greater enforcement effort to assure increased employment opportunities for women and minorities, not only at local stations but also at the networks, where decisions are made on the programs seen by the entire Nation. Although it is true that the FCC's EEO enforcement efforts have played a large role in the steady, albeit slow, series of increases in the percentages of minorities and women employed at local stations, it appears that greatly increased efforts will be necessary before women and minorities achieve a real breakthrough into executive positions.

We come before you tonight with new data that show in detail that despite the previous enforcement efforts of the FCC, minorities and women are still not employed in positions that have much power or policymaking authority. Our data consist mainly of job title information submitted to us in 1975 by seven randomly selected television stations[3] compared with similar job title data submitted to the FCC by these stations at the time of their most recent application for license renewal. In one case the titles for only six stations will be compared because of incomplete data submitted to us in 1975 by one station.[4]

Local News On-the-Air Positions

Perhaps the major popular indicator of the employment status of minorities and women at local television stations is their presence on local news programs. Indeed, a not uncommon public reaction to our "Window Dressing" reports has been that women and minorities must be doing very well, because there are "so many of them on the local news."

How many are there? We have compared the number of reporters and anchors employed by six television stations in 1975 with those employed at these stations as of the time of their most recent application for license renewal. The six stations are WRC, Washington; WNET, New York; WAGA, Atlanta; KQED, San Francisco; WWJ, Detroit; and WPVI, Philadelphia. This comparison shows some improvement for white females, but almost no improvement for minorities. Although black male reporters increased from 7 to 9, black female reporters decreased from 5 to 4. The lone Hispanic male reporter was not joined by others, but one Asian American male reporter has been added since 1975.[5] White female reporters enjoyed a more substantial increase, from 8 to 15. Although the number of white male reporters decreased from 46 to 41, they constitute about 58 percent of all reporters. (See table 1)

Local News (Officials and Managers)

Although minority and female reporters, combined, constitute 42 percent of all reporters and anchors on the local news shows at these six stations, when it comes to management positions in their local news departments, minorities and women are conspicuous either by their absence or by the seeming incignificance of their jobs in the overall news operation of these stations.

- In 1975, all seven stations listed 11 management job titles, such as News Director, Assistant News Director, News Assignment Manager, News Administrator, and Supervisor of News Graphics (KNXT, Los Angeles, is included in the remaining comparisons).

- Minorities and women held only two of these 11 positions: a white female was the "News Administrator" and an Hispanic

male was the "Supervisor of News Graphics." Neither title suggests any policymaking authority with respect to the news, and a station organizational chart showed that the News Administrator supervised no one. Neither was on salary, and their wages were quite low.

- No Blacks, no Asian or Pacific Island Americans, and no American Indians held management positions in news departments in 1975.

Since that time, the seven stations have increased their management positions from 11 to 16, but there has been virtually no improvement in the status of minorities and women in management jobs on local news programs.

- The five new positions are held by white males.
- Although minorities and women now hold three, instead of two, positions classified as management, the two appear to be in the same positions they had in 1975:
  - -- The white female "News Administrator" is now a "Supervisor of News Administration," and the Hispanic male is still "Supervisor of News Graphics;"
  - -- The new position is a "Manager of News Assignments," held by a white female.
- No other minorities hold management positions in the news departments of the seven stations.

To the extent that these employment patterns prevail elsewhere, we may conclude that although minorities and women present the news on the air, they have very little policymaking authority behind the scenes in local station news departments.

Other Officials and Managers

Where are the other behind-the-scenes women and minorities? Are they moving up into positions of authority, or are they located primarily

in positions with little power? Let's look first at the rest of the officials and managers job titles.

The job title lists submitted at license renewal time by the same seven stations show virtually no gains for minorities and women in any officials and managers jobs since 1975. (See Table 2)

- Black males have gained one officials and manager position since 1975, increasing from 11 to 12.
- Black females have lost one, decreasing from 8 to 7.
- Hispanic males have remained the same at 4.
- All other minorities have continued to have no representation.

This constitutes a net gain of zero for minorities since 1975.

- White females have gained two positions, from 51 to 53.
- The number of white males has decreased from 152 to 140.

Specific Job Titles

The specific job titles held by minorities and women show not only that they hold relatively few managerial positions at local stations, but also that the positions they hold are rarely executive or policy-making jobs. In fact, the job title lists indicate that minorities and women may have held more powerful positions in 1975 than they have since.

Black Males

Eight of the 12 black male officials and managers have the same jobs they did in 1975.

2 Directors of Community Affairs

1 Public Affairs Director

1 Art Director

1 Manager of Studio Operations

1 Director of Instructional Services

2 Executive Producers

These are not major management jobs at a local television station, and it is arguable whether some of them are even management jobs at all. What is more important, however, is that in 1975 one of the stations employed a black male Station Manager; that position is no longer held by a black male. (See Table 3)

Black Females

Five of the seven black female officials and managers have the same jobs they had in 1975, and these positions, too, appear to be neither executive nor policymaking:

Director of Personnel and Labor Relations

Supervisor (now Manager) of Sales Traffic

Traffic Manager (now General Sales Coordinator)

Production Manager

Administrator of Commercial Films

The changes are these:

- A "Manager of Community Relations, Press and Publicity" is now a "Manager of Program Administration"
- One station hired a black female "Publicity Manager"
- Another station no longer has black females in two positions: "Director, Training School" and "Coordinating Manager"

On balance, then, there is one black female fewer listed as an official and manager, and none of the seven appears to have much power. (See Table 4)

Hispanic Males

Hispanic males are in almost the same position as in 1975: four official and manager positions, all at one station. Three of these have the same position as before:

Manager of Community Relations

Manager of Design

Supervisor of News Graphics

None is in an executive or policymaking position.

Since 1975, the station has added an Hispanic male Director of Editorials; but, another station that had employed an Hispanic male Executive Producer no longer does. The percentage of Hispanic male officials and managers is exactly what it was in 1975, 1.8 percent. (See Table 5)

White Females

White females occupy 24.5 percent of the "official and manager" slots, having a far larger percentage of these positions than any of the minorities. Whether they are making significant strides forward into positions of real authority at local stations is, however, open to serious question. (See Table 6)

. Many of their job titles sound suspiciously clerical:

Supervisor of Word Processing

Broadcast Log Supervisor

Traffic Manager

Administrative Assistant/Office Manager

Manager, Financial Controls

Supervisor of Credit and Collecting

. Other titles having an aura of importance are unclear in function:

Manager, Systems

Director of Special Projects

Director of Special Events

Manager, Community Information

Director of Research and Outreach

. Several women hold job titles suggesting that their management jobs consist largely of "serving":

Director of Public Service

Manager, Building Services

Manager, Community Service

Manager, Sales Service

Manager, Financial Services

Supervisor, Sales Service

Manager, Office Services

Director, Media Services

Manager, Sales Services

(Interestingly, the only other Official and Manager employee we could find with the word "service" in the job title was a black male Director of Instructional Services.)

This is not to say that none of the 53 white female officials and managers is in a position of some authority. These appear to be:

Local Sales Manager

Advertising Manager

Manager, Broadcast Operations

National Sales Representative

Unspecified Vice President (among 6)

Except for her, none appears to be in an executive position. In 1975 two white females held such positions at two of the seven stations: a Manager of Programs and a Director of Administration. The latter managed a relatively large department. As with the lone black male executive in 1975--the Station Manager--both have gone on to better employment elsewhere, and no minorities or women have come up through the ranks to replace them.

Conclusion

As these data make clear, women and minorities do not hold a significant or fair percentage of positions with policymaking authority at local stations.

The Commission on Civil Rights has made a number of recommendations designed to strengthen the FCC's EEO enforcement effort. One of these was to revise Form 395 to identify by race and sex the employees that are truly in executive, policymaking positions. Another was to use salary as an indicator of employee power and authority.

These recommendations appear to have been all but ignored, as the newly revised Form 395 is essentially unchanged. And, now, it appears thatthe NAB is applying pressure to have the form withdrawn for

reconsideration. Further, a bill before the House Subcommittee on Communications (H.R. 3333) would, if enacted, eliminate FCC authority to require radio licensees to implement EEO plans and submit Form 395s. In ten years, it would do the same for television.

The presence of minorities and women in policymaking positions is one of the best ways the FCC has of assuring diversity and fairness in programming. It is essential, therefore, that the FCC EEO effort be enhanced, not eroded. This effort will not be enhanced, however, if we delude ourselves into believing that minorities and women have successfully entered all levels and areas of employment in broadcasting. The plain fact of the matter is that they have not. All else continues to be Window Dressing.

FOOTNOTES

1. Form 395 has nine job categories: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sales workers (the upper four); office and clerical workers, craftsmen, operatives, laborers, and service workers (the lower five).

2. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television," August, 1977; "Window Dressing on the Set: An Update," January, 1979.

3. The Commission purposefully selected a sample of 40 television stations for the purposes of studying their Form 395 employment data and equal employment opportunity plans. These stations consisted of the 15 network-owned and operated stations, the 15 stations affiliated with the networks, and the 10 public stations located in the following 10 major markets: New York; Los Angeles; Chicago; Detroit; Philadelphia; San Francisco; Cleveland; Washington, D.C.; St. Louis; and Atlanta. From these 40 stations, eight were selected at random. This sample consisted of three network-owned stations, KNXT (CBS, Los Angeles); WLS (ABC, Chicago); and WRC (NBC, Washington); three stations affiliated with the networks, WAGA (CBS, Atlanta); WPVI (ABC, Philadelphia); and WWJ (NBC, Detroit); and two public stations, KQED (San Francisco) and WNET (New York). One of these stations, WLS, Chicago, has not yet filed an equal employment opportunity plan under the FCC's new 10-point EEO guidelines, so its 1975 employment data has been omitted from these comparisons.

4. In 1975, KNXT, Los Angeles, declined to make available to the Commission on Civil Rights job title data for reporters and anchors, claiming that market place competitiveness made it unwise to

volunteer data on the race and sex of these employees.

5. KNXT's job title list submitted with its application for license renewal shows that as of June 30, 1977, one Asian American female reporter, one Hispanic male reporter, one black female reporter, three black male reporters, five white female reporters and six white male reporters.

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTERS AND ANCHORS ON LOCAL NEWS PROGRAMS OF SIX STATIONS BY RACE AND SEX IN 1975 AND AT THE TIME OF THE MOST RECENT LICENSE RENEWAL APPLICATION SINCE THE FCC ADOPTION OF THE 10-POINT EEO PROGRAMS

	1975		Most Recent License Renewal		
	No.	%	No.	%	Percentage Increase
Black Males	7	10.4	9	12.7	+ 22.1
Black Females	5	7.5	4	5.6	- 25.3
Hispanic Males	1	1.5	1	1.4	- 6.7
Hispanic Females	0	0.0	0	0.0	--
Asian and Pacific Island Males	0	0.0	1	1.4	--
Asian and Pacific Island Females	0	0.0	0	0.0	--
American Indian Males	0	0.0	0	0.0	--
American Indian Females	0	0.0	0	0.0	--
White Males	46	68.6	41	57.7	- 15.9
White Females	8	11.9	15	21.1	+ 77.3
	67	99.9	71	99.9	

Table 2

OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS AT SEVEN STATIONS IN 1975 AND IN MOST RECENT LICENSE RENEWAL APPLICATION SINCE THE FCC ADOPTION OF THE 10-POINT EEO PROGRAM

	1975		Most Recent License Renewal	
	No.	%	No.	%
Black Males	11	4.9	12	5.6
Black Females	8	3.5	7	3.2
Hispanic Males	4	1.8	4	1.8
Other Minorities	0	0.0	0	0.0
White Females	51	22.5	53	24.5
White Males	152	67.2	140	64.8
	226	99.9	216	99.9

Table 3

OFFICIAL AND MANAGER JOB TITLES AT SEVEN STATIONS IN 1975 AND IN MOST RECENT LICENSE RENEWAL APPLICATION SINCE THE FCC ADOPTION OF THE 10-POINT EEO PROGRAM

Black Males

Station	1975	Most Recent License Renewal
1	Director of Community Affairs	Director of Community Affairs
2	- Manager, Building Services - Station Manager Supervisor of Studio Operations Executive Producer	+ Manager Local Sales Executive Producer Manager, Studio Operations
3	None	None
4	Art Director Public Affairs Director	Art Director + Affirmative Action Director Public Affairs Director
5	Director of Community Affairs	Director of Community Affairs + Sales Manager
6	Director Instructional Services	Director of Instructional Services + Director of Public Affairs
7	Executive Producer - Executive Producer	Executive Producer
	Total = 11 or 4.8% of all Official and Manager Positions	Total = 12 or 5.5% of all Official and Manager Positions

Table 4

OFFICIAL AND MANAGER JOB TITLES AT SEVEN STATIONS IN 1975 AND IN MOST RECENT LICENSE RENEWAL APPLICATION SINCE THE FCC ADOPTION OF THE 10-POINT EEO PROGRAM

Black Females

Station	1975	Most Recent License Renewal
1	Traffic Manager	General Sales Coordinator
2	Supervisor of Sales Traffic - Manager, Community Relations Press and Publicity	Manager, Sales Traffic + Manager, Program Administration
3	None	+ Publicity Manager
4	None	None
5	Administrator of Commerical Films	Administrator
6	Director of Personnel and Labor Relations	Director of Personnel and Labor Relations
7	- Director, Training School Production Manager - Coordinating Manager	Manager
	Total = 8 or 3.5% of all Official and Manager Positions	Total = 7 or 3.2% of all Official and Manager Positions

Table 5

OFFICIAL AND MANAGER JOB TITLES AT SEVEN STATIONS IN 1975 AND IN MOST RECENT LICENSE RENEWAL APPLICATION SINCE THE FCC ADOPTION OF THE 10-POINT EEO PROGRAM

Hispanic Males

Station	1975	Most Recent License Renewal
1	None	None
2	None	None
3	None	None
4	None	None
5	Manager, Community Relations Manager of Design Supervisor of News Graphics	Manager of Community Relations Manager of Design Supervisor of News Graphics + Director of Editorials
6	None	None
7	- Executive Producer	None
	Total = 4 or 1.8 percent of all Official and Manager Positions	Total = 4 or 1.8 percent of all Official and Manager Positions

Table 6

OFFICIAL AND MANAGER JOB TITLES AT SEVEN STATIONS IN 1975 AND IN MOST RECENT LICENSE RENEWAL APPLICATION SINCE THE FCC ADOPTION OF THE 10-POINT EEO PROGRAM

White Females

Station	1975	Most Recent License Renewal
1	Assistant Promotion Manager	Assistant Promotion Manager
	Commercial Operations Manager	Commercial Operations Manager
	Office Manager/Executive Secretary	Administrative Assistant/Office Manager
	Director of Public Service	Director of Public Service
		+ National Sales Co-ordinator
		+ Local Sales Manager
	Subtotal = 4 or 18.2%	Subtotal = 6 or 27.6%
2	- Manager, Programs	+ Manager, Building Services
	- Supervisor, Revenue	+ Manager, Financial Controls
	- Manager Lic. Admin. & Public Service	+ Manager, Sales Service
	- Executive Producer	+ Manager, News Assignments
		+ Manager, Community Service
		+ Manager, Systems
		+ Manager, Lic. Adm. & Broadcast Stnds.
	Subtotal = 4 or 13.3%	Subtotal = 7 or 18.9%
3	- Director of Broadcast Standards	+ Traffic Manager
	- Payroll Supervisor	+ Community Relations Director
	- Asst. Promotion Manager	+ Advertising Manager
	- Accounting Service Manager	
	Subtotal = 4 or 21.0%	Subtotal = 3 or 11.5%

Station	1975	Most Recent License Renewal
4	Program Traffic Manager	Program Traffic Manager
	- Office Manager	+ Promotions Manager
		+ Sales Traffic Manager
	Subtotal = 2 or 9.5%	Subtotal = 3 or 13.6%
5	Supervisor, Word Processing	Supervisor, Word Processing
	Manager, Broadcast Operations	Manager, Broadcast Operations
	News Administrator	Supervisor, News Administrator
	Manager, Sales Traffic	Manager, Sales Traffic
	Administrator of Union Personnel	Supervisor, Personnel Administration
	Broadcast Log Supervisor	Broadcast Log Supervisor
	Asst. Director Community Relations	Manager, Community Information
	Manager, Financial Services	Manager, Financial Services
	Sales Service Admin.	Supervisor, Sales Service
	- Director, Planning & Admin.	+ Assistant to General Manager
	- Assistant to Dir. of Planning	+ Director, Special Projects
	- Administrator, Motion Picture Scheduling	+ Manager, Information Service
		+ Manager, Program Estimating and Cost Control
	- Administrator	+ Manager, Sales Analysis
		+ National Sales Representative
		+ Supervisor Credit and Collection
	Subtotal = 13 or 35.1%	Subtotal = 16 or 35.6%

Station	1975		Most Recent License Renewal	
6	Director, National Development		Assistant Director of Development	
	Director of Membership		Director of Membership	
	- Scheduling Supervisor	+	Director of Special Events	
	Director of Publicity		Director of Publicity and Promotion	
	- Director of Auction	+	Director of Research and Outreach	
	Subtotal = 5 or 26.3%		Subtotal = 5 or 23.8%	
7	Director, Personnel		Director	6
	Executive Producer		Executive Producer	1
	Assistant Director, Foundations & Gov't. Underwriting		Manager	5
	Director, S.T.S.		Vice President	1*
	Manager, Office Services			
	Director, Friends			
	Project Director			
	Production Manager, Prog. Prod. Admin.			
	Senior Project Officer, Foundations & Gov't. Underwriting			
	Production Manager, Prog. Prod. Admin.			
	Production Supervisor, Prog. Prod. Admin.			
	Director, Independence Fund			
	Director, International Division			
	Manager, Sales Services			
	Director, Public Information			
	Director, Auction			
	Production Manager, Prog. Prod. Admin.			
	Director, Media Services			
	Subtotal = 19 or 25.0%		Subtotal = 13 or 28.8%	
	Total = 51 or 22.5%		Total = 53 or 24.5%	

(* Station has 5 white male vice presidents)